The CRISIS

JANUARY, 19

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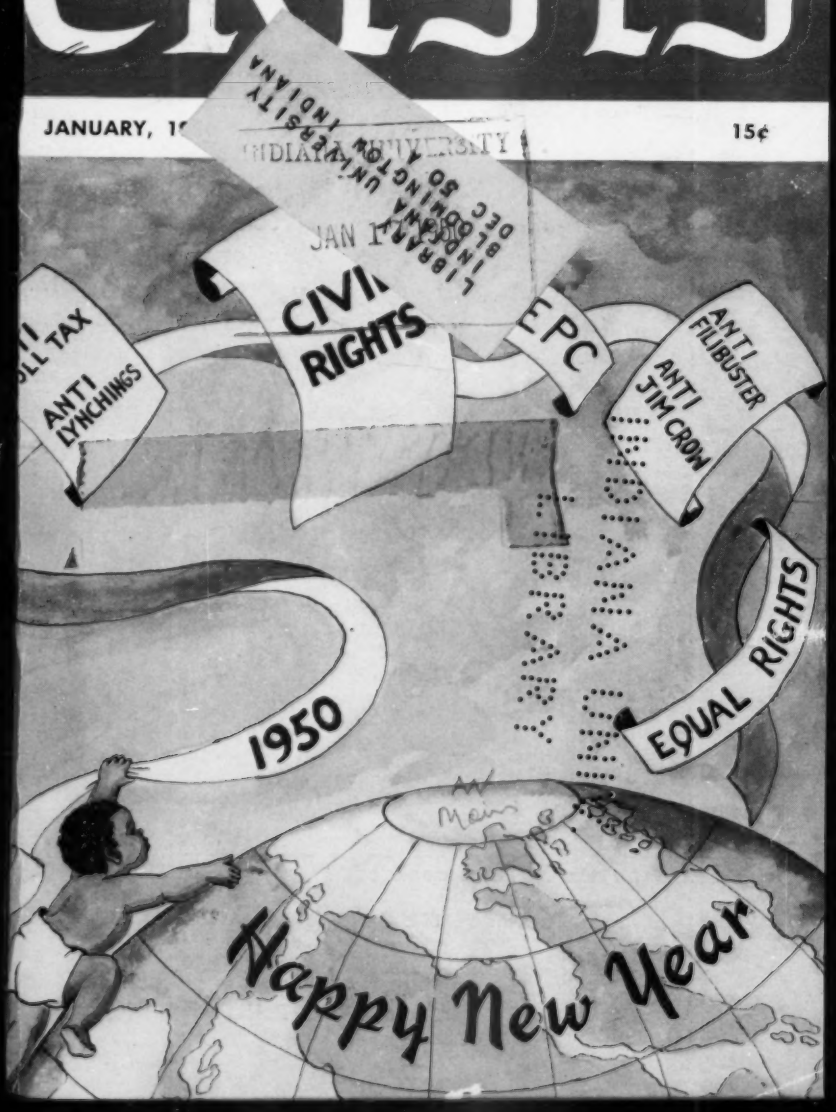

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.....

Now you just go right out and get a subscription.

.....

Feller, am I hot!

.....

I'm so hot that you can fry an egg on my head. I was just handed a letter from a lady who says, "I know if I read THE CRISIS I'll know just how to say what are my rights. But I just don't seem to get around to it."

Oh, Lady, Lady! What I could tell you if the mails would allow.

.....

Will you please go to your nearest and dearest friends and have them take out subscriptions to THE CRISIS, collect the money, and send both on to THE CRISIS so that I can cool off?

But be sure to get the name, zone number, and postal address right.

Sincerely,

P.M.

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Acting Editor: James W. Ivy
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■ Experiences of a white journalist on the staff of a Negro weekly

I Worked For a Negro Newspaper

By Scott J. Saunders

NOT until I had passed through the door and into the building did I realize that the employment agency had sent me to a Negro newspaper. I felt no emotion other than mild surprise. People scurried between desks in the usual bustle and clamor that typified the newspaper office. For several moments I stood motionless, completely fascinated.

Following my interview with the advertising manager who offered me the position of production manager, I left saying I would give him my answer that same afternoon.

My feelings were mixed. I needed the job. Being unemployed for almost two months had ploughed a hole in my savings that couldn't sink deeper indefinitely. I wondered what my wife would say. It was possible that while she abhorred discrimination in any form, she might find objections to my working there. Whatever her views, they were important, for I have always felt that a wife should share her husband's enthusiasm for his work.

SCOTT J. SAUNDERS, *former trade paper editor, is now on the staff of the* Musical Courier.

ACCEPTS POSITION

Later when I told her, she looked at me steadily and said, "If you feel that is what you want to do, go ahead. The experience will do you good."

That afternoon I called and accepted the position. I was excited at returning to work, yet there was an undercurrent of speculation. How would I fit into the Negro world?

I had no prejudices nor did I harbor the common misconceptions aimed at colored people. Born in Scotland, where the Negro is afforded comparable rights to life without restraint, I could not understand nor condone the antipathy of Americans where race is concerned.

To me the Negro is a man whose skin is darker than mine. Except for this variance in pigmentation, he is in no way different from others of the human race; he is born, lives, loves, marries, has children, pays his

taxes and dies in like manner as the white. I did not then, and even more strongly today, feel that color should deprive one of the opportunity to succeed in life. Working in daily contact with Negroes pointed up ever so clearly that given a chance, they can easily disprove the accepted notions that they are as a whole, slothful, lazy, unintelligent and lacking initiative.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

On my first day I was escorted by the advertising manager (the only other white person on the staff) through the entire building and introduced to every employee. Men and women alike greeted me warmly, shook my hand firmly and wished me success in my task. To all appearances I was an equal, an employee who was chosen because of ability and experience. That I happened to be white was merely a coincidence.

While on this introductory tour two girls, in a sincere effort to make me at ease, asked me about my family and what I had done before. Somehow the subject of music came up and the three of us discussed many phases of it with such enthusiasm that my guide had to drag me away. Whatever had been touched upon in that short time bore the earmarks of deep interest, knowledge and a love for the art. We had uncovered a common intellectual level, one that a white and Negro could mutually feel and appreciate. In the months that passed those two girls and I shared many an enjoyable hour of conversation on music.

The publisher and I had a short talk before I was shown to my desk. He was a tall, well-built man, clear eyed and confident. During the interview he made me feel at home with smiles that bespoke friendship and understanding. He never once asked how I felt about going to work for a Negro boss. It was obviously taken for granted, and rightfully so, that I wouldn't have been talking with him, then, had I the slightest compunction against being an employee in a colored business.

As I watched and studied him, it became apparent that here was a man of ability, drive and determination. I later learned that he was prominent in civic affairs, a leader in welfare work and often was asked to serve on the committees of worthwhile organizations.

CAPABLE STAFF

These capabilities were reflected in the staff under him. Here were none of the lackadaisical efforts so often attributed to the Negro. Each and every worker had a job to do and accomplished it ably. The editorial staff was sprinkled with M.A. degrees in journalism from major colleges and practically all were university graduates. In fact, all the departments of the paper were staffed by degree conscious men and women.

The advertising division was aggressive. It was headed by a man who twelve years previously had struggled along on $15 a week, but who had pulled himself to a position where his word was accepted without question on all advertising matters. The accounts encompassed nationally known products that had found acceptance in the Negro market. The salesmen were astute and methodical in their dealings with established firms and those they were

trying to bring into the newspaper.

One salesman in particular, who had spent the greater part of his mature life in studying Negro politics and history, to become an expert in both, had built up the real estate advertising to a point where it was not unusual for him to be credited with an entire page in a single issue. When he spoke of his beginnings in the newspaper business one could see that the struggle uphill had been rugged.

That was the way with all of them. Their early attempts had met with refusal, polite yet final, their results comparing poorly with the effort expended. Many of them had wanted to give up and find other work, but somehow they fought on, determined not to give up.

SHARED KNOWLEDGE

It paid off, after five and ten years of discouragement, with cars and houses and well-fed, well-educated children.

And because they had had it tough they were more than willing to share their knowledge, to clear one's path of difficulty wherever possible. At no time did I want for assistance or advice. Each and every one questioned, would, without hesitation, explain what I wanted to know. As I progressed, they were eager to compliment and commend. Once I had licked my job and in turn made their tasks easier, an even closer affinity was established between us.

Many times it was demonstrated that doing a Negro a favor or helping him out in some way meant swift reciprocation. He would bend over backwards to show his appreciation.

I never had an argument with any of my fellow employees. If something went haywire, no matter whose fault, both of us would pitch in and straighten it out. It made working conditions a lot easier.

MANY NATIONALITIES

Many nationalities were represented on the staff; men and women from Jamaica, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, and Costa Rica made up a sizeable group. All of them were well-educated, which was readily evident in well modulated voices that bore a singing quality. Speaking with them brought me back to my Army days in Arizona. I knew an auto mechanic from Jamaica who was a top flight auto mechanic with a wealth of knowledge and a British accent. I loved to hear him talk. Without a doubt he was the only mechanic for miles around with a university degree.

One of the good friends I made was the music editor. She was a charming person, educated in Europe, an accomplished musician and singer. For years she had been collecting material for a definitive book on Negro music and musicians, a work that would reveal the established place of the Negro in music.

On one occassion she described her fight to have a page in the paper devoted to serious Negro music. There had been a curious antipathy on the part of management that had been overcome when the venture proved successful. She proved to the higher-ups, to the newspaper, readers and to herself, that music was as vital as homemaking, sports, and other departments.

She was a member of the Critics Circle and received passes to many

musical events, but once she was bypassed.

It seemed that all the critics but she had received their free tickets to a series of musical events. When more than enough time had elapsed for them to arrive, she called the box office and was informed that her paper had not been placed on the list. Without delay she penned a letter to the head of the institution, stating her views, and asking bluntly why the representative of a newspaper with over 100,000 readers should have been snubbed. The recipient of her wrath was truly mortified that such an oversight had resulted. She apoligized and had the tickets sent out immediately.

WHITES SURPRISED

After working for several weeks my friends were informed of my new location. Their surprise was a bit obvious. "Negro newspaper?", as though it was the most unusual and least desirable job I could have taken. Several times I had to explain that I enjoyed my work and felt no unease about associating with colored people each day. And I invariably added that since I disagreed violently with discrimination in any form, I could see no reason why I shouldn't continue. But though they accepted my statements, their eyes held disbelief.

They were imbued with a prejudice long innured and placidly endured. This resulted in discussions that led nowhere, because I could not shake their dogged rejection of the Negro as entitled to a similar place in the sun. I tried to explain that they had but to meet some of those on the newspaper, to talk with them and exchange ideas, to learn first-hand how alert and well-informed they were.

Of course it was no use. They were typical of the multitude who see the Negro in another world, almost another planet, and as far away as possible. What they don't realize is that the Negro is coming into his own, finding his rightful place in society. True, he is of a race apart, yet the gap of demarcation is closing inexorably.

EXPERIENCE FRUITFUL

I have learned much about the Negro and his problems. One of the editorial writers, a scholar of great erudition and comprehension, often discussed with me his experiences with his white neighbors. He lived in an excellent one-family house section, peopled almost entirely by whites, and for a long time found it most difficult to surmount the racial obstacle. By showing that the Negro is a family man who provides for his wife and children and is also proud of the house he lives in, he brought his neighbors out of their shells. I know they are better for the association with this man's intellect. He is well able to explain to them the meaning of tolerance.

Thinking of him reminds me that a large percentage of the newspaper staff are owners or partners in varied businesses apart from their daily work. Two operated a liquor store, another a mail order tobacco business; the publisher himself was connected with an insurance firm; one of the photographers maintained a studio. One old-timer, a grand person, on the advertising staff was

(*Continued on page* 62)

PRODUCER HONORED *for* Home of the Brave—*Juvenile film star Peggy Ann Garner receiving from Justice Meier Steinbrink (left), national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, a citation honoring Stanley Kramer, independent Hollywood producer, for his motion picture* Home of the Brave, *a wartime story of anti-Negro prejudice.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That more whites migrated from the South during World War II than Negroes?

That the phenomenon of the "white Negro" appears only in the United States? The American definition of "Negro," which is social and not biological, is peculiar to the USA.

■ How one West Coast citizen views the migrant "Willie Stokes" of the war years

Eliminate the "Stokes Willies"

By Wm. V. F. Scott

SOME time ago *The Crisis* magazine (June, 1949), published an article titled "Willie Stokes at the Golden Gate." This treatise, written by Cy W. Record, purported to be the personal history of Willie Stokes and thousands of Negroes like him who had migrated from the South to the Bay area during the war years. In this article the author very ably traces the progress of Willie Stokes from the cotton fields and levees of the Deep South, with their low pay and general discrimination, to the busy, war-activated shipyards of the bay area with their high pay and relative freedom from ill-treatment and discrimination.

At the close of the war Willie Stokes loses his good job and good pay, as well as many of the newly found comforts he had grown to like so well, and eventually turns up with thousands of other Negroes in the unemployment line.

It soon becomes apparent to Willie Stokes that the prospect of immediate employment is not good and that all prejudice is not centered in the South. The difficulty in supporting himself and his family while seeking peace-time employment becomes so great that Willie Stokes is forced to make a decision upon the question of returning to the Deep South or fighting it out in California.

The decision is promptly made. Willie Stokes decides to remain in California. "Why?" he asks himself. "Well," and he answers himself, "no matter how bad things are in California they are at their worst far superior to things in the Deep South." In California his children go to the same school with all other children. They go for nine months of the year. The school buildings are new, warm, and well lighted. He can ride on a bus without having to take a seat marked "COLORED." He can attend any movie and take any seat he likes: no climbing the long flights of stairs to the uppermost stuffy balcony. He can walk down the street without having to shuffle toward the

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WM. V. F. SCOTT, *poet and post-office employee, lives in Oakland, Calif.*

curb when a white man passes. He isn't required, on perhaps the pain of a beating or arrest, to say "ma'am" to the women clerks in the stores. He can vote by registering and going to the polls and no night-shirted Klansman is going to try to stop him. All in all he can hold his head up, look anyone in the face, and be a first-class citizen.

CASE BEGINS

Now it is on this very optimistic note that the *Crisis* article completes the case of Willie Stokes. But properly, this is just where the case of Willie Stokes ought to begin. Because in every group of *Willie Stokes's* that came to California there was a percentage of Stokes Willies who did not come here so much on account of their liking for this state as because of their hatred of the South. And they brought that hatred to California. To repeat, these Stokes Willies, this one percent of the Negro migrants, ostensibly came to California and the Bay area not only for the big war-time pay that was offered, but as much as anything else they cried out for justice, freedom, and civil rights.

Then they proceeded to do everything within their ample power to destroy the Bay area's measure of justice, freedom, and civil rights. Please remember that I am not dealing with the great body of colored people who were good citizens before they ever came here and who remained to change their good into excellent. I am specifically dealing with a relatively small percentage of colored people who were evidently of little value in their home towns and who obviously had nothing worth while to contribute to the California commonwealth.

The essential thought to be emphasized right here is this: Although these never-do-well colored people represented only a small percentage of the Negro citizenry in point of actual numbers, there were enough of them to spread out over the community to the extent of assuming a representative character in the eyes of the public. One ounce of red paint will be sufficient to change the color of five gallons of yellow.

These people, these wilful nonconformists, are continuously guilty of almost every form of misbehavior possible. They are intolerant of others while begging for more and more tolerance for themselves. They demand "unrestricted" housing, integrated employment and schools, social and economic freedom, first-class citizenship. But in making these ordinarily just appeals they totally ignore the fact that in this civilization no man has a moral right to demand the benefits and protection of an organized and enlightened society unless he is willing to conform to the standards of that society, contribute his full share, and to accept his allotment of responsibility.

STOKES WILLIES

The Stokes Willies I am discussing are, however, doing none of these things.

In defense of these types can it be truthfully said that they are really good people at heart, but that as products of southern jim-crowism they must be given time to orientate themselves? I believe the contrary. The behavior pattern of this one-percent group of Negroes would be

considered reprehensible in any part of the country in any time or any place.

There is an incalculable difference between honest, straightforward, stable-minded people who might experience some original difficulty in making new adjustments in a new environment and those other individuals who are anti-social and trouble-makers wherever they are to be found. These two distinct classes are easily recognizable. The first will just naturally attract sympathy, understanding and help; while the second small minority will automatically invite dislike, disagreement, and antagonism.

NEGRO LEADERS

Now there are certain Negro leaders who hold that it is a waste of time to worry about these Stokes Willies. They take the position that since there is good and bad in every race there is no help for them and that allowances must be made. Again I believe the contrary. Give these poor people instruction. Show them that bad social behavior not only reflects disasterously upon all persons of color and the minority group but that it lends foundation and justification for prejudice. It keeps them out of jobs. It gets them into jail. It drives them into the saloons. It keeps them in the gutters. And what is inestimably worse, it keeps us all out of jobs, the worthy as well as the unworthy, and makes our lives more difficult and uncertain.

This then, these places, these spots, these sections of towns where thoughtless colored people live and move is really the field in which, undoubtedly, the Negro's fight for freedom and justice ought to center. Bring Mr. P. L. Prattis of the *Pittsburgh Courier* back from India and put him to work in West Oakland, California, where his race needs him badly. Bring Mr. George S. Schuyler back from Haiti and let him do his lecturing in North Richmond, California, where members of his race are more in need of primary instruction than the people of far off Haiti. Bring Mr. Walter White back from Europe and Capitol Hill and let him do some of his talking on Fillmore Street in San Francisco.

Let Negro leaders everywhere in civic, labor, church, and fraternal organizations carry on the fight not only against sub-standard housing, but against a sub-standard citizenry as well.

Only by eliminating the "Stokes Willies" can the country be made safe for "Willie Stokes."

DID YOU KNOW —

That Hampton Institute has the largest endowment, $10 million, of any Negro institution of higher learning.

563718

BID BOJANGLES FAREWELL—*Top, Among notables who turned out for funeral were (L. to R.) Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York, Milton Berle, Jackie Robinson (no relation to the deceased), Jimmy Durante, and Danny Kaye. Scene is outside the Abyssinian Baptist church, where service was held. Looking north from 131st Street, New York, this is what the funeral procession looked like.*

Acme

BILL ROBINSON'S *funeral procession reaches its end, Duffy Square on Broadway, after coming from Harlem.*

Alice Schalek, Three

UGANDA—*The resident of a local chief, consisting of several huts. The one at the left is the chief's own house; the others are for his friends, staff, and servants. Bottom, View of Kampala, the native capital of Uganda. Capital of the British Protectorate and seat of the British authorities is Entebbe. Kampala lies on top of seven hills, each of which has its separate church and official buildings.*

■ **Despite the repressive measures of the British in all parts of Africa to keep her hold on her dependent territories, the natives are fighting back**

The Bataka Movement In Uganda

By George Padmore

THE postwar spirit of nationalist awakening has penetrated into the East African Protectorate of Uganda, where the people revolted against the corrupt and effete Native Administration of the Buganda Kingdom in January, 1945. But for the timely intervention of British military forces, the Kabaka might have been forced to abdicate and his place taken by his brother, the late king's favorite son. Scores of Africans were killed and wounded, and the then prime minister, Martin Luther Nsibirwa, was assassinated by a young nationalist.

After order was restored, many prominent Africans, including the uncle of the Kabaka, Prince Suna, and a former prime minister, Samwiri Wamala, as well as a number of Saza chiefs, were arrested by the British government. Some were banished without trial to other parts of the Protectorate, while others were exiled to the Seychelles—the "British Siberia" in the Indian Ocean.

On April 25, 1949, renewed disturbances broke out in Kampala when angry crowds of natives attacked the headquarters of the puppet Native Government presided over by the Kabaka or native king. Prompt action was again taken by the British authorities to protect their quislings, through whom they exercise dictatorship over the five million blacks under the system of indirect rule. On this occasion, troops were brought from the neighboring colony of Kenya to reinforce the local police. Several Africans were shot and over 1,400 arrested, including leaders of the popular movement known as the *Bataka.* Martial law was proclaimed and the Governor, Sir John Hall, issued instructions that "any police officer, administrative officer, or a chief of the Buganda government may in his discretion disperse any assembly of five persons or more. If any such assembly, in the opinion of a police officer of the rank of assistant inspector or above, seems likely to commit a breach of the peace, the

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GEORGE PADMORE, *the well-known Colonial expert, is a frequent* Crisis *contributor. He lives in London, Eng.*

officer, after due warning, may employ such forces as he considers necessary, including the use of firearms."

The Governor also assured his European subordinates that "if any harm or death is caused by such force the police officer or any other person aiding him will not be liable to prosecution."

In addition to assuming full dictatorial powers, the Governor declared all strikes illegal and suppressed the African Farmers Union, whose president, I. K. Muzazi, arrived in London in January, 1948, to protest to the Colonial Office against the exploitation of the native cotton growers by European and especially Indian ginners. "We have been greatly impressed and profoundly shocked by the volume and convincing nature of the evidence which we have heard as to the widespread deliberate cheating of the growers over the selling of his cotton," declared the report of the Government Cotton Industry Commission of 1948. Nevertheless, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was once the greatest critic of the exploitation of Africans, has refused to see the accredited representative of the Buganda farmer.

TIME-HONORED EXCUSE

Despite repeated efforts by members of Parliament to elicit information from the Government, Mr. Creech-Jones and his under secretary, Mr. Rees-Williams, have refused to comment on the economic and political grievances of the Buganda workers and peasants, hiding behind the time-honored excuse that the Governor having appointed a commission of inquiry consisting of one man, a former chief justice, silence must be maintained until the commissioner makes his report. It will be several months before this report is published.

Meanwhile, letters smuggled out of Uganda to Mr. Semakula Mulumba, the representative of the *Bataka*, Elders of the Clans, in London, have brought alarming reports on the repressive measures adopted by the British authorities to suppress the nationalist aspirations of the Africans.

KILL WITH IMPUNITY

"The Protectorate Government is killing the people with impunity and malice. Nobody dare protest. An average of eight to ten bodies are buried every day. Other bodies are dumped in the same pit. Nobody is allowed to see them," asserts one report made public at a protest meeting held in London on June 8, 1949, under auspices of the Colored Colonial Workers Association of Great Britain. Another report alleges that since April 26 more than 300 Africans have been killed and more than 2,000 arrested, and declares that "the beating and every kind of torture inflicted on them exceeds Christ's sufferings." The British authorities, says the same report, "brought in troops with trucks and armored cars, full of gasolene, with which they burned the houses of the chiefs, of employees of the Protectorate Government and the Buganda Government." This was used as a pretext for arresting the *Bataka Elders*.

As a result of these shocking revelations, Mr. Fenner Brockway, for-

mer member of Parliament and chairman of the International Committee of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, has appealed to Prime Minister Attlee to appoint a parliamentary commission to visit Uganda and enquire into the cause of the disturbances. "The unrest in Uganda," asserts Mr. Brockway, who is a member of the British Labor party, "arises from the popular demands—first, for the democratization of the native assembly, and, second, for the right of farmers to process their cotton crops co-operatively and to export in bulk to Britain without the intervention of profiteering middle-men. These demands would appear to be reasonable and progressive and ought to be welcomed by a Labor Colonial Secretary."

Alice Schalek

BUGANDA *woman, Uganda, Africa.*

BACKGROUND POLITICAL

In this part of Equatorial Africa, Imperialism has always been closely linked with religion. The missionaries work hand-in-glove with the British officials. It was largely through the behavior of the Church of England missionaries and Catholic White Fathers, who instigated religious civil wars amongst their African converts during the latter part of the last century, that Uganda became a British protectorate. Even since the British have made it a rule that the *Kabaka* (king) as well as his two chief cabinet ministers, the *Katikiro* (prime minister) and the *Omuwanika* (finance minister) must be members of the Church of England, the *Omulamuzi* (chief justice) is always a Roman Catholic. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Kabaka* and his ministers are under constant pressure from the British protectorate officials on the one hand and the religious hierarchy on the other to make economic concessions to State and Church.

Before the present *Kabaka,* Mutesa II, reached his majority in 1939, the then governor had appointed the three ministers a Council of Regents. These men were completely under the influence of the Resident, the senior British official who acts as the "adviser" to the Buganda native administration, headed by these same ministers. In 1941 the Regents became involved in a court scandal arising out of the marriage of *Nanasole,* the Queen Mother (widow of the late king, *Daudi Chwa*) to a commoner named *Kigozi.* To placate the indignant people, the British forced Martin Luther Nsibirwa, the prime minister, to resign. He was succeeded by Samwiri Wamala. The Buganda also demanded the dismissal of the finance minister, Sarwano Kulubya who, in association with the minister, was held responsible for the disgrace brought upon the Bugnda nation by the Queen Mother's *mésalliance.*

While the British were prepared to sacrifice Nsibirwa, they refused to dispense with the service of Kulubya, their most trusted agent in the native administrative setup. It was during this 1948 crisis that certain progressive young Buganda formed a nationalist movement which secured the support of the *Bataka,* the traditional Elders of Buganda clans and guardians of the ancestral land rights of the *Bakopi,* the peasant communities. In order to put an end to the corruption of the ministers and certain influential Saza chiefs, who constituted the main pillars of the native administration, the educated Africans demanded the democratization of the *Lukiko*—the native parliament—and the introduction of freedom of assembly, speech, and press. But the British government refused to agree to these demands.

BISHOP BRITISH AGENT

The supporters of the Bataka movement, now a sort of united front between the Elders of the Clans and the progressive educated youths, accused the British protectorate government of bringing pressure on the Kabaka and his ministers, especially the prime minister, Samwiri Wamala, to sign away certain Africans' land rights so as to enable the Colonial Development Corporation and other foreign capitalist interests to exploit the country's mineral resources once the proposed hydro-electrical scheme is completed as part of the British ten-year-development plan.

Similar allegations have been made by the Bataka against the Anglican Bishop of Uganda, the Right Reverend Dr. Stuart. This British church dignitary has been accused of entering into a secret agreement by which rights in church lands were ceded to the British government.

Under the Anglo-Uganda agreement of 1900, which forced British sovereignty upon the Kingdom of Buganda, over 70 square miles of land belonging to the bakopi or peasants were alienated from the Africans and vested in the Anglican hierarchy for the exclusive benefit of the Native Church in Uganda. The land in question is reported to be rich in uranium and other minerals. The native clergy and laity, many of them supporters of the Bataka movement, are opposed to the transaction. They do not want to part with their property, which they feel should be

used for exclusive religious purposes. In a petition addressed to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, they accuse their Bishop Stuart of being "a British govemnment agent who persistently works with misguided Christian zeal for the said purpose of substituting social confusion for the order established by our ancestors in the whole society of Uganda."

LAMBETH CONFERENCE

During the Lambeth Conference in 1948, a similar document was circulated to the archbishops and bishops of the Anglican Communion. In it the Africans alleged that the Bishop of Uganda was trying to set the Church, in that the protectorate was incorporated into the Archbishopric of East Africa, against the wishes of the native clergy and laity in furtherance of a British Imperial scheme to unite the three East African territories—Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika—under the political and religious control of European settlers, who are pressing their claim for setting up and all-white dominion linked up with the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

It was against this background of general dissatisfaction with British political imperialism and religious exploitation that the first disturbance occurred in January, 1945. It was precipitated by an economic strike among the workers in Kampala for increased wages to meet the rise in the postwar cost of living. But the outbreak soon developed into a popular demonstration against the Native Administration, and in particular against the Kabaka's most hated minister, the Treasurer Kulubya, whom the British maintained in office despite the people's demand for his dismissal for the part he played in the Queen Mother's *mésalliance.*

The 1945 revolt was even more brutally suppressed than the recent diturbances. However, the hated Kulubya was forced to resign. His place was taken by a younger man, Kawalya Kagwa, the son of Sir Opolo Kagwa, a former prime minister and one of those who signed away Uganda to the British in 1900. The new minister served as a lieutenant in the King's East African Army in Burma during the last war.

After "law and order were restorted and Pan-Britannica vindicated, the Governor ordered the arrest of the then prime minister, Samwiri Wamala, who was later banished from Buganda. It is said that Wamala had refused to play the British game and collaborate with Kulubya in selling out his country to foreign interests.

UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

With Wamala out of the way and the nationalist movement driven underground, the Governor brought Martin Luther Nsibirwa out of retirement and reappointed him prime minister in place of the banished Wamala. Indignation seized the people and trouble started again. But before Martin Luther Nsibirwa was able to get the hand-picked chiefs in the Lukiko to approve the plans of the Briitsh government, he was assassinated by George William Senkatuka. The young nationalist shot the prime minister as he was about to enter the Anglican Cathedral of

(*Continued on page* 63)

Wide W

FIRST NEGRO CIRCUIT JUDGE SWORN IN—*William H. Hastie (left), sworn in December 1 as first Negro judge of a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, is congratulated by Chief Judge John Biggs, Jr., of the Third Circuit Court. Hastie, former federal district judge and former governor in the Virgin Islands, was appointed by President Truman.*

DID YOU KNOW —

That in 1646 Negroes outnumbered Europeans in the Mexican population and that Mexico still has the all-Negro town of Velorio Trujano?

■ **Encouraging qualified Negro applicants to enroll in northern colleges is opening up a second front in the fight on segregated education**

A Second Front in the Fight on Segregated Education

By Richard L. Plaut

ENCOURAGING developments, little known by those outside the field, are quietly taking place on a new front in the fight against segregated education. As eight million Negro Americans in the South still continue to be victimized directly, and the rest of the country indirectly, by the euphemism called "separate but equal education," the forces against segregated education go on fighting their slow and expensive battle in the courts and legislative halls. This fight, no doubt for sound strategic reasons, is being carried on from the top down—for admission of Negroes to the graduate schools of the South, first; then gradually, but up to now imperceptibly, down the line through colleges to secondary and elementary schools. Meanwhile, another front, a splinter one in the big fight, an attack based on integration within the existing legal framework, is opening at a much more rapid pace and lower cost than is possible on the main front.

RICHARD L. PLAUT *is a professional executive of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.*

Several factors make the opening of this other front possible and desirable. First, the legal fight will take years to resolve. The crumbling walls of segregated education have so far yielded only to the extent of the admission of a handful of Negroes to the graduate and professional schools of a few border states. Even these gains have been more than cancelled out for the immediate present. Most of those states, as they begin to admit Negroes to their own graduate schools, are revising drastically downward their out-of-state aid for graduate study in the non-segregated areas.

As another delaying action, the Deep South is advancing its "Regional Plan," the setting up and support of segregated colleges and graduate schools by a group of states, each too poor to maintain its own two-headed educational system alone. It is primarily a device to maintain segregation. In addition, a great many well-meaning people in the North are helping to support Negro colleges in the South. Although this support is sorely needed during this interim period, it is not calculated to hasten

the end of segregated education. Rather than building up the patient for the inevitable operation, its effect is to keep him so narcotized that both doctor and patient may forget that the knife eventually has to be used.

Secondly, there are several hundred colleges and universities in the non-segregated states whose attitudes range from willing to eager to enroll qualified Negroes. In most of them, the Negro enrollment is so low that a vast multiplication of present applications would have to come in before they are likely to consider quotas. At present the total Negro enrollment in all of the four-year undergraduate interracial colleges is less than one-half of one percent—against a Negro ten percent of the population. It runs to a total of less than 5,000 students. Furthermore, these institutions have more than $14,000,000 in scholarship funds to award annually, and most important of all, Negroes are eligible for most of them.

MANY STUDENTS LIBERAL

Finally, among the factors which are making the other front possible, are the large segments of the student bodies on many of these campuses who go much further than their administrations in their eagerness to see a more representative student body which, to them, quite properly includes more Negroes. Literally dozens of interracial and inter-cultural organizations, Christian associations, liberal unions and the like are actively working toward this end. As an example of these student organizations, there is the notable record of the Liberal Union at Princeton. Except for the period of the Naval training unit during the war, Princeton has always been "lily-white." After the war a group of students, mostly veterans, formed the Liberal Union. They exerted so much pressure on the Administration and the student body that "Negroes at Princeton" became a *cause celèbre* on the campus and in the daily "Princetonian." Meanwhile the Liberal Union worked on the Princeton townspeople to secure agreements of equal treatment in the stores and restaurants for Negro students coming to Princeton. They then canvassed New Jersey high schools to induce applications from qualified Negroes. Result: this year's freshman class at Princeton has three Negroes in addition to a sophomore transfer. Thus, the "Liberal Union" at Princeton, like the "Dixwell Group" at Yale, "Watermargin" at Cornell, and "C. O. R. E." at the University of Chicago, among many others, become disseminators, young Johnny Appleseeds, as they travel through the country back to their homes, dropping their equality-bearing seeds, not, as they say, so much to help Negroes or any one group, as to enrich their own student-body soil.

The students go even further. Many of the campus chests, the college equivalent of the community chest, allocate funds for scholarships for Negro students. Harvard, Columbia, Vassar, Yale, Smith, Skidmore, Wheaton, and Oberlin are among numbers of colleges and universities whose campus chests have allocated funds to make easier the enrollment of Negroes in their respective student bodies.

Against this group of favorable factors are formidable obstacles blocking large numbers of Negro

students from profiting from the triple encouragement of colleges, student bodies, and the availability of numerous scholarships. Negroes, especially in the South, are unaware that many institutions want their applications for admission and scholarship aid, if they are qualified; that a favorable climate awaits them within the student bodies on most campuses; and finally, they don't know the how, where, and when of making applications. This latter ignorance is not because of lack of intelligence, but because,, being so insulated, they lack the relative sophistication of comparable members of the majority group. In the Deep South the Negro student with "A" grades who doesn't know how to write for a college catalogue or to fill out an application form, is a commonplace. Frequently accompanying this unawareness among many southern Negroes, there is a lack of drive for higher education, particularly in the rural areas. Unfortunately this attitude of indifference is diffused throughout the whole community, among parents, teachers, and young people. Moreover, the miserable secondary preparation that most Negroes get in the South, leaves all but the most gifted pretty much unqualified for admission to a northern institution.

GREATEST OBSTACLE

The greatest obstacle of all, however, lies in the inadequacy of many existing scholarships; the majority of the $14,000,000 worth are valued at $200 each or less. The southern boy or girl, whose parents can contribute practically nothing to the cost of a college education, cannot come North to school with the help of only a $200 or even a $300 award. Added to the $500 which the student may earn during the year, the total will still not cover the cost of a college year in the North. Hundreds of students, admitted to northern colleges, with scholarships which leave them short of their needs by only $200 or $300, must refuse the awards and the opportunities. Special scholarships are needed for Negroes, but southern Negroes need larger scholarships because they have to go North to attend an interracial college.

SECOND FRONT

In spite of these obstacles, the opportunities for Negroes in interracial colleges point to a direction for action —another front. This direction was suspected by a young woman who was graduated from Smith college in the class of 1945. She was deeply concerned about the few Negro faces she had seen in her four years at college. She persuaded the NAACP to allow her to make a survey, under their auspices, of the attitudes toward Negroes of the majority of the non-segregated colleges and universities. When the survey turned out to be favorable toward Negro applicants, as she had believed it would, she persuaded Dean Harry J. Carman of Columbia college, along with seven New York college presidents, and the Reverend James H. Robinson, Pastor of Morningside's Church of the Master, to sponsor a counselling, referral and scholarship service to deal with the problem. This agency, the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, still headed by Dr. Carman, now has 158 college

(*Continued on page* 60)

LONG AND SHORT *of the Long Island, N. Y., NAACP youth council baseball league.*

Southern College Teachers Repudiate Jim-crow Education

This release was issued by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. We think it significant when 7 out of 10 southern college teachers favor "the immediate admission of Negro students to graduate and professional schools without segregation." Just sixty years ago the South argued that any money spent on Negro education was money wasted. Thirty years ago the South reluctantly accepted industrial education. And when the South finally agreed to college and professional education for Negroes, she insisted that it be given in segregated institutions. Today, a sizeable segment of its educators are willing to admit Negroes to white graduate institutions. This is an indication of the next step in southern higher education—integration.—Ed.

In a poll of 15,000 southern college teachers, 7 out of 10 of the 3,375 teachers who replied favored the immediate admission of Negro students to graduate and professional schools without segregation.

Results of the poll were announced on November 7, 1949, by Aubrey Williams, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., at a meeting of the organization's board of directors in Washington, D. C.

Only 25 percent of those who replied expressed approval of the regional segregated education plan which went into effect in September (1947).

The ballot provided voters with four choices: A, open existing graduate and professional schools without segregation; B, open existing graduate schools with segregation; C, build new graduate schools for Negroes; and D, establish regional graduate schools on a segregated basis as outlined by the Southern Governors' Conference.

Ballots were mailed to all of the 15,000 staff and faculty members of 181 accredited colleges and universites in fourteen southern and border states and the District of Columbia. Omitted from the project were eleven major state universities covered earlier in a separate ballot. This poll, Williams said, produced almost identical results, varying only by one percent.

Plan B, opening existing schools with segregation, received only 3 percent of the votes, and Plan gained the remaining 2 percent.

In only two of the states polled was the vote less than 50 percent for the immediate end of segregation—Mississippi, 30 percent; and Alabama, 49 percent.

Poll by states reveals:

RESULTS BY STATES

State	Plan A No.	%	Plan B No.	%	Plan C No.	%	Plan D No.	%	Total Votes No.	%
Alabama	123	49	10	4	6	2	110	45	249	100
Arkansas	36	72	2	4	1	2	11	22	50	100
Florida	278	69	7	2	6	1	108	28	399	100
Georgia	109	58	4	2	2	1	74	39	189	100
Kentucky	236	84	4	2	6	2	34	12	280	100
Mississippi	28	39	7	10	6	9	30	42	71	100
North Carolina	315	73	10	2	6	2	101	23	432	100
South Carolina	116	53	6	2	5	2	94	43	221	100
Tennessee	151	69	6	1	2	2	61	28	220	100
Texas	432	66	24	4	33	5	157	25	646	100
Virginia	200	79	3	1	3	1	48	19	254	100
West Virginia	123	97	0		0		44	3	127	100
Maryland	120	92	1	1	3	2	6	5	130	100
Delaware	6	100	0		0		0		6	100
Washington, D. C.	47	82	1	2	0		9	16	57	100
State & College Unknown	36	86	0		0		6	14	44	100
Total	2358	70	85	3	79	2	853	25	3375	100

A—Open existing graduate and professional schools without segregation.
B—Open existing graduate schools with segregation.
C—Build new graduate schools for Negroes.
D—Establish regional graduate schools on a segregated basis as outlined by the Southern Governors' Conference.

DID YOU KNOW —

. That the first poetry anthology published (1845) in America by Negroes was *Holly Berries* (Les Cenelles), a compilation of French verse authored by free mulattoes of Louisiana?

MAYWOOD COUNCIL—*Officers and committee chairmen of the Maywood, Ill., NAACP youth council. Standing, second from left, is Albert B. Stroud, council adviser. Bottom, Retiring and newly-elected members of the national planning and advisory committee to NAACP youth councils and college chapters.*

Good News

The Richmond Rebels, a professional football team in Richmond, Va., has its first Negro player in fullback Fred ("Cannonball") Cooper.

★ ★ ★

Atlanta's Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga., has taken southern newspapers to task for Negro baiting in a recently issued pamphlet titled *Race in the News.* The report charges that "Through repetition [southern newspapers] have made the word 'Negro' in a headline synonymous with 'crime' and, in the minds of many, with 'rape.'"

★ ★ ★

The Air Force still leads in integration of its Negro personnel. Lts. Thomas D. Sims, of Chicago, Ill., and Calvin E. Paterson, of Huntsville, Ala., have been assigned to the 56th Fighter Wing, Selfridge Air Base, Mount Clemens, Mich., in an operational unit which flies jet fighter planes. This is the first time Negro pilots have flown jet fighter planes as part of an operational unit although colored pilots have flown jet aircraft as cadets at the Williams Free Base, Chandler, Ariz.

★ ★ ★

Senator Frank P. Graham (N. C.) has recommended LeRoy Jones, of Kinston, N. C., as a second alternate to the military academy at West Point. This is the first time a southern Negro youth has been named.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Stanley Beckett, a nurse at the Syracuse Memorial Hospital, Syracuse, N. Y., is the winner of the Linda Richards Award for "outstanding qualifications as a graduate registered nurse." She received the citation at the biennial convention of the New York State Nurses Association in Buffalo, N. Y., in October. Mrs. Beckett is the daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. Huston Crutchfield of 99 Sickles Avenue, New Rochelle, N. Y.

★ ★ ★

At the Lockland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, Negro and white airmen live together, sleep together, learn together, and work together. And this integration has been accomplished with complete harmony. "No unpleasant incidents resulted," explains Major General Charles W. Lawrence, commanding general of the indoctrination division, "and the white boys and the Negro boys are getting along well together."

Book Reviews

DIFFUSED FEELINGS

Killers of the Dream. **By Lillian Smith. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1949. 256 pp. $3.00.**

As a native and resident of the deep South, Lillian Smith has given her life to trying to make it a better place for all people to live. With the sensitivity possessed by a person of humane tendencies, she has long believed that the crux of the trouble in that region revolves around the character of the people, both black and white; despite her cognizance of the influence of economics upon the social framework in which they live and work. In the first book she has produced since her best-selling *Strange Fruit* five years ago, she lays bare this side of "Southernism" in the hope that it will be attacked with the understanding and vigor required for Southern growth, prosperity, and final maturity.

The foci of her narrative are sin, sex, and segregation; and she diffuses these through the social fabric of the South to show how they have been responsible for the repression, control, and shaping of millions of lives for generations. It is these powerful, loaded symbols that have served as the "killers" which have made the story of the American South a long sorrowful one "of failure and frustration and anxiety, a tale of shattered lives and a shattered culture."

Relying in part upon historical fact and in part upon childhood memories, the author constructs the sordid picture of a people steeped in ignorance and poverty and who have let themselves be deluded by a mythical philosophy of white supremacy, keeping the Negro in his place, and rewarding simple-mindedness in women. All of this has been possible largely through supporting demagogues whose sole concerns are personal power, greed, and lust, and who shout states' rights to allay the fears of little people, and resort to outright brutality in the most beastly mankilling art known to mankind in the lynching of helpless Negroes.

Lillian Smith is a person to be admired, both as an informed individual who values human dignity for all and as a writer of sensitivity and ability. Nevertheless, in *Killers of the Dream* she has allowed her feelings to become so diffused with her subject (always highly detrimental to non-fiction material) that much of what she has to say is confused and repetitious. In trying to tell of the South as a haunting tragedy for those capable of acknowledging a conscience, the book becomes a composition of reflective writing that flits from a befuddled and repressed past into an even more involved present.

Trying to explain a regional philosophy of life upon the skeleton of a Freudian theme is a difficult job even for one better qualified by training and experience than Miss Smith. And we must not forget that recalling the past out of the memories of childhood is

certain to produce blurred and presbyopic pictures, many in thin outline without substance, others in silhouette without detail.

Notwithstanding the author has given us here much food for thought. She has pioneered along an avenue which it is hoped others better prepared with the required tools and equipment will travel to reach the heart of the matter. And once having arrived, they will begin to probe and cleanse the stifling influence produced by distance and darkness, and ignorance and fear which have collaborated to produce a rigid pattern of Southern tradition and states' rights—the real "killers" of the illustrious dream of democracy: "That man is more important than his institutions." Once these destroyers have been erased, then democracy's virtue can come to full bloom "in its willingness to make room for all men however different they are and to provide full opportunity for their growth, permitting each to develop along the lines of his potentialities as an individual.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

INTERPRETING NEGRO LIFE

The Negro's Morale. **By Arnold M. Rose. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1949. IX+153 pp. $2.50.**

The anthropological term *ethos* refers generally to what is called the prevailing "spirit" of a group. Arnold Rose in *The Negro's Morale* has attempted to project what he believes to be the *ethos* of the American Negro. Such a chimerical and qualitative factor as the spirit of a people is difficult to analyze, for one cannot be sure whether the fundamentals upon which he bases his premise are sound. Dr. Rose has tried to lay a foundation for his assumptions largely on what has been said by and about Negroes and through a sociological interpretation of their actions, both individually and in concert.

Considering the problem he tackles and its significance in American society, Dr. Rose has done a commendable job in these few pages. The history of Negroes from slavery through the Civil War and Reconstruction, the Republican double-cross of 1876, the Booker T. Washington era, the emergence of a new philosophy as advanced by W. E. B. DuBois, the two world war migrations, and other developments are assessed briefly but with a high degree of accuracy. The relationship of these events and factors to the current morale of the Negro is handled with skill and insight.

The treatment of factors retarding the growth of morale, such as the role of skin color, cleavages due to class, the "talented tenth" theory, the fight for segregation by Negroes with a vested interest in its perpetuation, separating elements traceable to poverty, residential segregation, personal and social disorganization, ethnic distinctions, ideological differences, and intra-group Negro hatred are pointedly observed in relation to the question of morale. The limited space given to a study of solidarity of the Negro with other minority groups is devoted mainly to an analysis of Negro-Jewish relations, merely mentioning Orientals and a few others.

It is almost impossible to do an exact and scientific job on Negro morale purely from the literature. The author is aware of his "being somewhat presumptious in writing about a matter which so many other persons could handle much better." But believing that Negro writers have not tackled the job, he has proceeded in his efforts with the result that a number of defects serve to reduce the value of his contribution.

The author (and the guest writer of his foreword) thought he was pioneering with this monograph, but had he consulted Alice M. Dunbar's *Masterpieces of Negro Eloquence,* published

in 1914, he would have found in these collected essays a story of Negro morale. He discarded the studies by Reid, Drake and Cayton, Charles S. Johnson, DuBois, Frazier, Doyle and others as simply segmentary or local studies. But it is indisputable by his own criteria that these are investigations of Negro morale. Likewise, in view of the sparse bibliography which is appended, it is understandable that he has made several misinterpretations about Negroes, of which the following are representative:

> "There is little of the puritanism and personal aloofness that characterizes white American culture." (p. 74)
>
> "Significant fact is that West Indian Negroes are not used to living under caste." (p. 77)
>
> "Because Communism is such an issue in America, and because some Negroes regard it as a solution to the Negro problem, it creates a cleavage of greater significance among Negroes than among whites." (p. 83)
>
> "The blatant, nationalistic claim to the cultural achievements of Negroes with whom there is no cultural contact . . . is an unconscious assumption on the part of Negroes that race is important for achievement." (p. 92)
>
> "(Negroes) have become aware of events throughout . . . the world which affect them." (p. 144)

At times his inability to cope with his subject is revealed in inconsistent statements:

> ". . . whites are more inclined to select a light Negro . . . whites do not always select Negroes on the basis of light color . . ." (p. 63)
>
> ". . . light Negroes are becoming relatively fewer in number . . ." (p. 63) . . . so many light-skinned Negroes are born every year . . ." (p. 93)
>
> "A significant proportion of the dance bands in the country are composed of Negroes." (p. 67)

Further, he shows his blurred vision on Negro life today through his belief that people like Adam Powell, Mordecai Johnson, and Benjamin Mays are "national leaders." From the point of view of a select group of white people this may be so, but in terms of reality, there are millions of black Americans who have never heard of these people. Were Dr. Rose to test his thesis among the masses of Negroes in the rural South—and in the cities, too—and the thousands of colored migrants on the Pacific Coast he would be amazed to find how wrong he is. Individuals like Jemison the Baptist leader, Mrs. Bethune, and Congressman Dawson are acclaimed more widely as real race spokesmen.

Since the author has achieved some prominence as a student of Negro life in American society, it is difficult to excuse him for making these and other errors. One of the major faults of white savants and non-Negro interpreters of the Negro is that they try to comprehend a complex group with a multitude of internal problems and differences without actually experiencing life among them. Without doing this and keeping abreast of recent literature and data on the subject, it is impossible to have any real understanding of the dynamic changes that have tâken place today or to interpret current trends in terms of their significance.

To assess the real value of this work presents something of a problem. Negro morale is a difficult subject to analyze, as would be any factor which is a combination of socio-economic, and historical-psychological elements. Being intangible in character, the status of morale may be just the opposite of what it appears. Yet, in spite of the errors of interpretation and judgment, regardless of the inaccuracies and inconsistencies, the author has produced

a helpful book. It is a succinct statement of the problem and sharply incisive in revealing and gauging the present position of the Negro in American society. It publicizes a fact of which too few whites and many Negroes are aware: "They no longer 'take it lying down,' . . . The Negroes' aim is full achievement of democracy and its concomitants—liberty, equality and fraternity."

HUGH H. SMYTHE

DR. HUGH H. SMYTHE, *social anthropologist, is a regular reviewer for The Crisis.*

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•

DON'T FORGET

Civil Rights Conference in Washington, D.C.

January 15-17, 1950

Editorials

A NEW YEAR MUST

FIRST item of business on our agenda this year is implementation of the civil-rights proposals of the Truman Administration. The NAACP and forty-seven sponsoring organizations have already worked out a civil-rights mobilization plan. This is a grass-roots crusade to begin in the precincts with local leaders, rising up to the state level through conferences with congressmen and senators. We must let these leaders know we mean business. We must find out where they stand on civil rights, and then make it clear to them in no uncertain terms that if they do not support such measures that they need not expect support at the polls next November.

Culmination of the mobilization will be a huge movement on Washington January 15-17. Plans should by now have been perfected and delegates selected for this trip. Be sure your delegations are large and well organized. They must let our congressmen know that their delaying tactics have exhausted our patience.

FHA LOAN RESTRICTIONS

WHEN Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman issued the Administration order (on December 2) banning financing by the Federal Housing Administration of new houses or apartments where occupancy or use is restricted by race, creed or color, the FHA finally got around to announcing a policy which it should have been following from the beginning. Since the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial restrictive covenants, FHA has been ridiculous in its rear guard effort to maintain the racial ghetto. The NAACP had already addressed two memoranda (in 1944 and 1949) to President Truman on the subject of racial discrimination in FHA.

Now we do have a directive. But whether it means what it says we will not know until printed instructions and changes in the *Underwriting Manual* have been made. Already real estate interests have set up a cry against the order on the ground that it would "raise havoc" with private building. Ironically, the loudest wails came from the North. Spokesmen at a convention of the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards have claimed that New Jersey and New York realtors would be hardest hit. Is this because northern realtors are more eager to maintain the ghetto than their southern brethren? Southern builders, as we expected, are emphatic in their assertion that the measure will not work in their section. From press reports it is apparent that Commissioner Richards of FHA is still determined not to offend the interests.

What the Administration has done is to implement a fragment of its civil-rights program and attempt to bring FHA mortgage operations into line with the Supreme Court ruling outlawing racial restrictive covenants. Actu-

ally, this should have been done upon the heels of the decision. We do not expect the millenium from this directive; it will not of itself abolish the racial ghetto; but if it means what it says, and is rigidly enforced, it is a forward step.

SEVEN OUT OF TEN

THE findings of the poll recently conducted by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., makes interesting reading. Here is what SCEP did. It sent out questionnaires (See page 25) to 15,000 southern college teachers in 181 southern colleges and universities asking them where they stood on the immediate admission of Negroes on a non-segregated basis to southern graduate and professional schools. Not all the teachers, of course, replied; but seven out of ten of the 3,375 who did favored the immediate admission of Negroes without segregation. Another discovery was that only twenty-five percent of those replying expressed approval of the southern regional educational plan, which is a segregated setup.

We believe these findings significant. They are further proof of what we have known for a long time; namely, that southern university professors and their students are years ahead of the wool-hat politicians. Whenever the NAACP has instituted a suit to get a qualified Negro into a southern university, a large segment of the students and many professors have rallied to our support. Usually, the students have been much more aggressive than their teachers: this is to be expected because of the more exposed position of the professors.

Another thing this poll indicates is that the day is not far off when qualified Negro students are going to be freely accepted by southern institutions of higher education. Many things explain this ferment, but one which has been overlooked is the practical influence of our large northern and western summer schools. They enroll thousands of southern white and Negro teachers every summer. And these southerners work and play together as equals. These contacts did not "mongrelize the American race," and they made it possible for the two groups to get to know each other. They make ridiculous the contention that the two races cannot be educated together.

"BOJANGLES" ROBINSON

BILL ("Bojangles") ROBINSON was tops in his field—tap dancing. His was the unique gift of a supreme talent. He developed it to the point of perfection, forced its recognition by sheer virtuosity upon peer and populace alike, and was hugely rewarded by understanding and wealth in his own lifetime. "Bojangles" danced as effortlessly as other men breathe.

When he died on November 25 at the age of seventy-one, he had achieved the distinction of becoming a legend in his own lifetime. Proof of this and the deep hold he had on people was seen in the thousands who lined eight miles of New York streets on November 29 to mourn their beloved "Bill."

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

LEGAL

Bans Jim-Crow Buses: Regulations by bus lines and other public carriers requiring segration of passengers in interstate travel were invalidated by a decisions handed down in November by the United States Court of Appeals sitting in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The court decision, based on the Supreme Court ruling in the *Morgan* case, held that the regulation of the Southern Bus Lines separating passengers according to race placed an undue burden upon interstate commerce.

DR. LONNIE E. SMITH (*left*) *and Heman M. Sweatt* (*center*) *receiving plaques from the Texas state conference for their outstanding contributions to racial advancement.*

"The requirements that she (Miss Elizabeth Whiteside, the complainant) change her seat with all her accompanying impediments the moment she crossed the Kentucky line, was," the court found, "a breach of that uniformity which, under the *Morgan* case, is a test of the burden placed upon interstate commerce."

The case was carried to court by lawyers for the NAACP, following the forcible ejection of Miss Whiteside from a bus en route from St. Louis to Paducah, Ky., on May 6, 1946. After the Federal District Court in Paducah held the bus regulation reasonable, NAACP Attorneys Robert L. Carter of New York, Martin A. Martin of Richmond, and Joseph Freeland of Paducah carried the case to the Court of Appeals, where it was argued before Judges Hicks, Simons and McAllister on October 18, 1949.

SCHOOLS

Maryland: After losing the first round in its fight against the regional school plan, the Association is preparing an appeal to the Maryland Court of Appeals.

DELEGATES *to the eleventh annual youth conference which met in Dayton, Ohio, November* 9-12, 1949.

Ransom

APPRECIATION FOR NAACP *is expressed by Walter Tannis (center), winner of a* $3,000 *settlement after charges of discrimination by a construction company building the Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel were filed by the NAACP with the N. Y. State Commission Against Discrimination. Mr. Tannis is presenting a check for* $150 *to Roy Wilkins, acting secretary, as Mrs. Marian Perry, former NAACP special counsel who handled the case, looks on.*

This first test of the regional school plan, designed to defeat the NAACP in its struggle to end segregation in higher education, was made in a suit brought by attorneys in the Superior Court of Baltimore against the University of Maryland for the admission of Esther McCready to the university's school of nursing. The state defended its refusal of Miss McCready's application on the ground that its contract with the Board of Control for Southern Regional Education enabled it to send Negro students to Meharry School of Nursing in Nashville, Tennessee.

The attorneys pointed out that the regional school plan discriminates against Negroes in that they are sent out of the state to take courses offered at the state university, while the only white students sent out of the state are those who wish to take courses not offered at the state university. In a surprise decision, Judge W. Conwell Smith held that although in the Donald

Murray case, decided in 1935 by the Maryland Court of Appeals, the State was oredered to admit Donald Murray to the University of Maryland law school rather than send him out of the state, the Murray case was not controlling because there is a difference between nursing education and legal education.

Sweatt Case: The legal department has learned that the U. S. Supreme Court has granted a *writ of certiorari* agreeing to hear in January the appeal in the case of Heman Marion Sweatt who was denied admission to the University of Texas law school solely because of his race.

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, has said that the NAACP attaches special importance to the Sweatt case because it is the first major legal test of segregation *per se* in university graduate schools and a victory in this case would cause a major break in the segregated system of higher education. A brief *amicus curiae* was filed in support of the NAACP petition for *certiorari* by the Committee of Law Teachers Against Segregation in Legal Education, a group of forty-four professors of law in leading universities throughout the country. This group contends that segregation is discrimination and, as a violation of the "equal protection" caluse of the Fourteenth Amendment, is unconstitutional.

Hempstead: A fight by the Association against racial segregation in the public schools of Hempstead, L. I., has resulted in victory as N. Y. State Commissioner of Education, Francis T. Spaulding, ruled that irregularly drawn district lines must be "restudied and realigned" to prevent segregation of Negro pupils into the Prospect school.

"The line circumscribing the Prospect school is irregular," Commissioner Spaulding stated. Upholding the NAACP charge that this gerrymandering of district lines results in segregation, the commissioner ordered new district lines drawn, "to the end that all of the children who should properly be expected to attend the Prospect school, on the ground of their geographical proximity to said school, be included within the zone." Mr. Spaulding further indicated that if the NAACP feels the new lines to be unreasonable after they are redrawn according to his order, "the matter may then be reopened and reviewed . . . in order that specific objections to the zoning lines be considered and a conclusion reached."

Atlanta: Argument of an appeal made by the Atlanta, Ga., school board of a lower court decision equalizing teachers' salaries in Atlanta was argued in October before the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

The NAACP filed the suit, which was first argued in November, 1947, before Judge E. Marvin Underwood of the United States District Court in Atlanta, on behalf of Samuel L. Davis, and other Atlanta teachers, asking a pay scale equal to that of similarly qualified white teachers.

Although the ordinary time for argument in cases of this type is one hour for each side, the court cut the time for argument of the appeal to twenty minutes for each side, on the ground that the issue of the right of a school

board to pay lower salaries to Negro teacher than to white had been clearly settled.

Jackson: The Association won a motion in October compelling the Jackson Mississippi school board to produce for inspection documents and records which the NAACP claims will prove that discrimination exists in the payment of salaries of Negro and white teachers in Jackson.

Successful argument of this motion marked another step forward in the suit for equalization of teachers' salaries brought against the Jackson School Board on behalf of Mrs. Gladys Noel Bates, former Jackson school teacher.

MISCELLANEOUS

Joins Legal Staff: Jack Greenberg, a former Harlan Fiske Stone scholar at the Columbia university law school, has joined the NAACP legal staff as an assistant special counsel. Mr. Greenberg was a member of the staff of the Law Revision Commission of New York state prior to coming to the Association.

Mrs. Constance Baker Motley, who joined the legal staff as law clerk in November, 1945, and later became legal assistant, has now been promoted to the position of assistant special counsel.

Wilkins Addresses CIO: Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the Association addressed the annual convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 3.

Nehru Awarded Life Membership: Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president and publisher of the Pittsburgh *Courier,* made the presentation of a $500 life membership certificate in the NAACP and a bronze medal to Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a ceremony in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in November.

Life membership medals and certificates were also presented to the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* and to A. J. Strong, Jr., of Norfolk, by Roy Wikins at the closing mass meeting of the fourteenth annual convention of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP branches.

Contributions: A contribution of $1,000 was made in November to the NAACP by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL. The presentation was made to Herbert Hill, assistant labor secretary of the NAACP. This was the second large contribution made to the NAACP by a labor group within a week. The week before, Roy Wilkins was presented with a $5,000 check by the Laundry Workers Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, CIO, a gift raised at a testimonial dinner in honor of Louis Simon and Sanders Genis, secretary-treasurer and manager, respectively, of the joint board.

Wins Bryand Award: Pauline E. Phelps, young mezzo-soprano of Chicago, who is now a student at the Juilliard School of Music, New York

DELEGATES ATTENDING *the Texas state conference of September* 16-18, 1949. *Bottom, presentation of Ike Smalls award to Susan Warren (center) of Milwaukee, Wis., youth council.*

City, is recipient of the $1,000 Nelson W. Bryan Memorial scholarship for two years' continued study at Juilliard.

The scholarship was established by officers and men of the 847th Engineer Aviation Battalion as a memorial to Nelson W. Bryan, one of their members and a former musician, who was killed in a motor accident in France. The money was given to the NAACP with the stipulation that it be used as a scholarship for some "deserving, musically-talented Negro boy or girl to pursue that talent at a higher level of education."

Miss Phelps, characterized as "one of our most gifted singers" by Dean Mark Schubart of the Juilliard School, was soloist with the Roosevelt college symphony orchestra, has received scholarships from Roosevelt college and the National Association of Gospel Choruses, and is the recipient of awards from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the Juilliard School of Music, and the Signa Gamma Rho sorority.

A contribution of $150 was made to the Association by Walter Tannis, sandhog for whom the NAACP recently won a $3,000 settlement after filing charges of racial discrimination with the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

"I wish to express appreciation to the NAACP," Mr. Tannis told Roy Wilkins, "not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of the other sandhogs and fellow members of my union (Local 147 of the Compressed Air, Foundation, Caisson, Tunnel, Subway, Cofferdam and Sewer Construction Union, International Hod Carriers, AFL), who will be encouraged to carry on their fight against discrimination."

The complaint filed by Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry, NAACP assistant special counsel who handled Mr. Tannis' case, cited instances of discharge and demotion of Mr. Tannis and others who spoke against racial discrimination, by the George H. Flinn Company, construction company building the Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel.

Argo, Illinois: A petition filed by NAACP Attorneys Claude E. Whitaker and Sidney A. Jones, Jr., on behalf of parents in the Argo district sets forth details of "a systematic plan of racial segregation and discrimination" in the elementary schools of the district. The NAACP asserts that this pattern of segregation "is threatening to spread to all phases of community life," pointing out that Negroes are segregated in a local theater and in restaurants and other places of public accommodation and that a jim-crow housing project is "in the making."

An investigation of the segregation practices was made by Herbert Hill and Lester P. Bailey, national NAACP representatives, along with Mrs. Cora Patton, Rev. Robert R. Johnson, Robert Birchman, and Rev. S. Marion Riley of the Chicago branch. More than three hundred parents and property owners who attended a mass protest meeting in November formed a new branch of the NAACP, in Argo.

The National Board of Directors, at its meeting on November 14, 1949, upon recommendation of the Committee on Branches, voted to revoke the charter of the Honolulu, Hawaii, branch of the NAACP.

What the Branches Are Doing

Arkansas: The FORT SMITH branch lost its suit against the local school board. Plaintiff in the suit for equal educational facilities was 12-year-old Charles I. Bouser, a sixth-grade pupil in the local school. Young Bouser, however, was represented by his stepfather, Arthur Bouser. Although the stepfather was out of work and unable to get unemployment benefits, he refused to withdraw as proxy plaintiff in the suit.

Rhoden

PATRICK GORMAN, *international secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL, presenting a* $1,100 *check to Herbert Hill, NAACP assistant field secretary.*

Ransom

PAULINE PHELPS *of Chicago, Ill., winner of the Nelson W. Bryan Memorial Scholarship for two years of study at the Juilliard School of Music, New York City. She receives congratulations from acting NAACP secretary Roy Wilkins.*
(*See page* 40)

Illinois: Attorney William Henry Huff of Chicago, Ill., won his seventy-fourth extradition victory when he kept J. B. Baker from being returned to Florida "justice." Facts in the case are as follows:

On July 25, 1948, J. B. Baker, with his brother and another man, was riding along the highway near Port St. Joe, Florida, when he was accosted by one E. B. Jordan, road patrolman, who accused him of speeding. When Baker protested that he wasn't speeding, the patrolman became enraged and beat Baker. During the melee, Baker managed to escape and was hidden by a white family, the men members of which joined the mob of about five hundred in order to learn what they intended to do with Baker should they find him. Learning that the mob intended to lynch Baker, the men, under cover of night, spirited Baker to Tallahassee and then gave him bus fare to Chicago.

Two days later, on July 27, E. B.

Jordan accosted Baker's wife, Maeola. When she couldn't tell of her husband's whereabouts, Jordan knocked her down, brutally kicked and beat her, to the extent that she is now a semi-invalid.

In Chicago, Baker secured the services of William Henry Huff, who immediately filed suit in the criminal court of Cook county. On Thursday, August 4, 1949, Baker was discharged on a writ of habeas corpus by Chief Justice J. McDermott. Mrs. Baker has a suit against Jordan, now pending in the U. S. District court in Chicago, asking damages in the amount of $50,000.

North Carolina: Despite the rainy night the bingo party of the CHAPEL HILL branch held on October 28 was a success. The branch cleared $51 which was divided as follows: $15 to the Groveland, Florida, defense fund; $15 to the state education fund; and $5 each to the George White night school, the NAACP national office, the local branch, with $6 retained for the next party.

New York: The quarterly conference of the New York State Conference of NAACP Branches was held November 12-13 at the Bethesda Baptist church, 71 Lincoln Avenue, New Rochelle, N. Y.

Virginia: The school facilities and opportunities program of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches has been strengthened by an opinion recently handed down by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the fourth circuit.

In the *Corbin* versus *County School Board of Pulaski county case,* the NAACP had sought a declaratory judgment and injunctive relief forbidding the practice of discrimination in the educational opportunities and facilities offered the white and Negro children of Pulaski county. After hearing the evidence, the district court entered a final judgment dismissing the complaint. Relief was sought from this judgment through the U. S. Court of Appeals.

WILLIAM HENRY HUFF

The action of the lower court was reversed in part, vacated in part, and remanded with directions. The court recognized that segregation itself is invalid where it appears that Negroes are discriminated against. The court also cited the fact that Negro children had to travel out of Pulaski county to obtain their education, that they were not offered the same courses of study, auditoriums, gymnasiums, or opportunities for play and recreation as those offered white children.

This court opinion strikes at the roots of the vicious practice now being carried on in several sections of Virginia, apparently with the approval of the State Department of Education; namely, the establishing of regional or area high schools (embracing two or more school divisions) for the education of Negro youth, while maintaining high schools within such divisions for the education of white youth.

"On the Beam" With Youth Councils

Twenty-five young people met on November 6 in the Chicago Heights Community Center, Chicago Heights, Ill., and organized a youth council with the assistance of Ben Stroud, Illinois state youth adviser, and Herbert Hill, assistant NAACP field secretary.

First activity of the council after organization was to test the state civil rights act at the Center restaurant, 43 Illinois St., Chicago Heights. About ten members of the council, white and Negro, entered the restaurant; but the owner, Henry Pappas, bluntly told them he did not serve Negroes. Then Mr. Hill informed him that if he refused to serve the group that they would bring suit and throw a picket line around the place. But Mr. Pappas was still adamant. The group then staged an effective sit-down strike, forcing Mr. Pappas to close up his restaurant in less than half an hour.

The council began picketing the Center restaurant on November 10. Although hooted and jeered at by white hoodlums, the pickets stayed on the job and were joined the next day by members of the Maywood youth council and five members from the University of Chicago NAACP college chapter. Tension mounted and the pickets had to call for police protection, which was given. The home of one picket, Dorothy Herring, a council member, was burned down. The firemen said it was arson.

Finally a warrant for the arrest of Henry Pappas was secured from Judge Shapiro. When Ben Stroud took more members of the council before Judge Shapiro, the judge issued three more warrants charging discrimination and violation of the Illinois civil-rights law. Trial of the owners of Center, James and Henry Pappas, was set for November 16.

The new Chicago Heights council has pledged itself to carry out the same kind of militant action until all areas of public life in the local community are open to Negro citizens on a non-segregated basis.

DID YOU KNOW —

That Negro males in the United States have been outnumbered by females for 100 years?

That whereas Negroes make up only 6 percent of the population of New York City, in Fairfield, Alabama, they constitute 58 percent of the total?

That the first Negroes to be appointed to both the military and the naval academy were from South Carolina? James W. Smith was appointed to West Point in 1870; John Henry Conyers to Annapolis in 1872. First Negro to graduate from West Point was Henry O. Flipper, of Georgia, in 1877.

Health Hints

THE COMMON COLD

The advertisements in newspapers and magazines generally read as follows: THE IDENTICAL COLD-KILLING FORMULA REPORTED IN . . . Readers Digest . . . CLINIC-PROVEN ANTHIHISTAMINE.

We don't know if the editors of the *Digest* are doctors who have made far-reaching researches to ascertain the curative merits of this drug, but we know what a qualified association of doctors—The American Medical Association—has said about it. First The National Better Business Bureau made an investigation and on the bases of it's findings was quoted in *The New York Times* of November 30, 1949, as follows:

Restraint and caution in advertising claims for antihistamic drugs, now allowed to be sold without a prescription as a treatment for colds, will be urged in a report to be issued this week by the National Better Business Bureau.

The report is the result of an investigation started by the bureau three weeks ago when a number of antihistamic cold remedies were introduced with extensive advertising and promotion. The inquiry, covering clinical evidence and consultations with representatives of Government, trade and private medicine.

Since there exists no precise definition of a cold, Mr. Backman said, it is difficult to make any exact recommendations concerning the term. It is generally agreed, he noted, that the basic cause is a virus, and that antihistamines have no effect on a virus, or the secondary bacterial invaders of the body which frequently accompany them.

"Common use of the term," he said, "generally refers to a number of diseases which manifest the same or similar symptoms. No one can say now whether or not antihistamines will affect all these. That they are most certainly not a cure for the common cold is firmly established.

"Naturally, the drugs should not be advertised as safe, or harmless, or in language calculated to encourage careless use. They are not to be given to infants, and illustrations in ads showing young children are not recommended.

If you have a cold consult a doctor, not a druggist. If you can't afford a doctor go to a clinic.

Your Dollar's Worth

TABLE MODEL RADIOS

Of 32 table model radios tested by Consumers Union, none were outstanding in quality. Only AM sets selling for less than $30 were included in the project. All sets presented some degree of shock hazard, and four were rated "Not Acceptable" because of short circuit hazard.

The two sets judged to offer the greatest value per dollar were the *Ward's* Airline, Cat. No. 1527M, $17.95 plus shipping, and *Admiral* 5X12-N, $16.95. The *Ward's* set was also at the top of the "Acceptable" list for quality, followed by *RCA* 8X521, $24.95; *Philco* 50-522, Code 121, $22.95; and *Westinghouse* H124, $24.95.

CHILDREN'S RECORDS

Before buying children's records, be sure that they play at a speed for which the recipient has a record player, says CONSUMER REPORTS in an article on records as Christmas gifts for children. For example, the regular or "standard" speed is 78 revolutions per minute, but there are new slow speed records, 33⅓ r.p.m. and 45 r.p.m., which require special players. Consumers Union's consultant on children's records recommends a number of companies producing inexpensive records, most of them unbreakable (all records listed below are standard speed):

Little Golden Records, 25¢; 7-inch unbreakable. Outstanding among their recordings are: The Taxi That Hurried and Hansel and Gretel Dance, No. 15; Old MacDonald Had a Farm and The Owl and the Pussy Cat, No. 16; Turkey in the Straw and Oh, Susanna, No. 17.

Lincoln Records, 25¢ and 35¢; 7 and 10-inch unbreakable. Generally liked are the following of the Teddy Bear Series (35¢, 10-inch): Row, Row, Row Your Boat and Little Boy Blue, No. 202; Whoopee-Ti-Yo-Yo and Lone Prairie, No. 206; and Pop Goes the Weasel and Pied Piper, No. 211. Popular in the Bobolink Series (25¢, 7-inch) are Alphabet Song and Old Mother Hubbard, No. 351; Chicken Licken and The Muffin Man, No. 354; Ride a Cock Horse and Over in the Meadow, No. 361.

"Your Dollar" is a digest of articles appearing in CONSUMER REPORTS (the monthly magazine published by Consumers Union, 38 E. First Street, N. Y. 3, and available by individual subscription at $5 a year). Product ratings are based on unbiased laboratory tests on samples purchased by Consumers Union in the open market.

Recipes

A five dollar prize will be given for the best recipe of the month. Winning recipe will be chosen by the editors.

OYSTER GUMBO

4 dozen oysters, 1 large onion, 2 tablespoons Filé powder (Filé is the tender leaves of sassafras made into a fine powder), butter or lard, parsley, thyme, 1 bayleaf, salt, and pepper.

Melt shortening in a saucepan; when hot add the chopped onion and cook till slightly brown. Sprinkle with a little flour and cook till this also browns. Add 2 quarts hot oyster liquor, and 1 quart hot water; bring to boil, add the herbs, the seasoning of salt and pepper, and finally the oysters. Cook 3 or 4 minutes more. Remove from fire; stir in Filé powder.

★ ★ ★

SPOON BREAD

1 cup corn meal, 1 teaspoon salt, 1 tablespoon sugar, ½ teaspoon soda, 1 beaten egg, 1 cup buttermilk, 1½ tablespoon shortening.

Put corn meal in bowl. Pour ¾ cup boiling water over meal. Cover and let cool. Add salt, sugar, and egg. Dissolve soda in buttermilk; add to first mixture. Mix thoroughly. Add shortening. Pour into a deep, greased baking dish. Bake in hot oven (375° F.) 30 to 35 minutes.

★ ★ ★

CHILLED ORANGE CUSTARD

1 cup orange juice, 1 cup milk, sugar, 2 tablespoons cornstarch, 6 tablespoons caramel.

Dissolve caramel in water, place on fire, stir until it thickens. Remove and add 2 tablespoons boiling water, replace on fire and boil until it reaches a golden brown consistency. Remove from fire and coat in pudding mold. Place orange juice on fire, slowly stir in milk and cornstarch. As soon as it thickens, and while still hot, empty into already prepared sugar mold. Let cool and then remove from mold and place in refrigerator.

Fashion Hints

The fashion creators disregard of the seasons this year should arouse that flutter in milady's heart that things lovely to wear and lovely to look at always do. Already shops, the entire width and breadth of this land, are filled with the dainty fluff and gay colors of spring. The blue rayon taffeta with white pique collar, the new butterscotch moygashel linen dress, or that high red, or any of the widely varied styles and colors that you can now wear under your coat can be worn in the spring or even summer.

Some of those we saw and thought rather fêtching were: a cocoa taffeta dress, corded across, with buttons to the waist and a black patent leather belt. This one was priced at $14.95.

★ ★ ★

A black and white plaid taffeta with black velveteen for the collar, cuffs, buttons and belt. $14.98.

★ ★ ★

Turkey-red taffeta with a high waist, and a collar that peals back from a deep decolletage. $17.95.

★ ★ ★

The suits which we saw that were rather new and striking were exorbitantly expensive. But they will, no doubt, be copied by the less expensive manufacturers and will soon be displayed in the more moderately priced shops.

★ ★ ★

The two most popular were a sailor-collar suit with a slight flare at the back of the skirt, in a grey worsted, $70.00. A pointed jacket suit with the low-curved collar. This one in grey worsted flannel for $150.00.

★ ★ ★

For the more daring souls there are polka-dot-legs right from Hollywood. This effect is achieved with seam-free nylons with velvet dots. The shoes are satin mules with white velvety dots.

★ ★ ★

The new coiffure is the Flirt Cut. It is short cropped with shallow scallop bangs and a close sweep from ear to ear in the back.

College and School News

Third annual cadet commissioning exercises were held at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE November 23, at which time 65 of the ROTC cadets received commissions as cadet second lieutenants of the ROTC unit at Virginia State. Dr. J. H. Johnston, acting president of the college, gave the congratulatory address; Capt. Robert M. Hendrick, Jr., commanding officer of the ROTC unit, introduced the speakers and presented the cadets for their commissions; and Lt. Col. David C. Alexander, of Camp Lee, Va., gave the main address.

The Virginia State College Little Symphony Orchestra made its third annual concert appearance on December 4 in the Virginia Hall Auditorium. With a membership of forty-five, the orchestra includes students of the college, high school students and citizens of Petersburg, as well as members of the college faculty.

■

Annual conference of the PLAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION for 1950 will be held March 14-18 in the form of a "Play School Week" under the topic "We Meet in Behalf of Children." Chief speakers will be Dr. Roma Gans, professor of education, Teachers college, Columbia unversity; and Dr. Ruth Andrus, chief of the Bureau of Child Development and Parent Education of the New York State Department of Education.

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TENNESSEE A. AND I. STATE COLLEGE held ground breaking exercises on November 23 in connection with its expansion program. This six million dollar expansion program was formally acknowledged at the dedicatory exercises for recently erected buildings, costing four million dollars. Among the buildings dedicated were a new engineering building, a new heating plant, new agricultural laboratories, and a new cafeteria which is connected with the women's building.

■

Dr. Alma T. Watkins, head of the department of modern foreign languages at Tennessee A. and I. State college, received the degree of Ph. D. from CORNELL UNIVERSITY in the summer of 1949. Her field of concentration included Spanish, French, and romance linguistics. She holds the B. S. degree from Ohio State and a M. A. from Columbia university. She has traveled in England and pursued courses at the University of Toulouse in France, the Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelaya in Santander, Spain, and at the National university of Mexico.

Dr. Watkins' thesis was "Eroticism in the Novels of Felipe Trigo" and is based upon extensive research in the psychological novels of Spain, France, England, and the United States.

■

Local chapters of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity at Virginia State observed National Negro Achievement Week in a formal exercise at which Dr. Charles Drew, head of the department of surgery at Howard, was the chief speaker. Dr. Drew, Spin-

ALMA T. WATKINS
Ph.D., Cornell

garn medalist, is leader of research in blood plasma and was director of the blood plasma bank during the last war.

■

PI LAMBDA THETA, National Association for Women in Education, is again announcing the granting of two awards of $400 each for significant research studies on "Professional Problems of Women." These awards will be granted on or before August 15, 1950. Further details may be obtained from the Committee on Studies and Awards by writing Alice H. Hayden, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington.

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According to the decision of the judges and the confirmation of the student body, the winning composition in the college song contest sponsored by publisher Carl Murphy, of the *Afro-American* newsapers, for the best song, words, and music written by a student or alumnus of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, was won by Frank Greer for his marching song, "Home of the Mountaineer."

Eleven songs were entered in the contest, and in the opinion of the judges three of these warranted final consideration: "West Virginia State Hymn," by Forest Hester; "West Virginia Alma Mater," by Mrs. Edith McMillan; and "Home of the Mountaineer," by Frank Greer.

The first of a series of art exhibits was held at the college November 14-26. This exhibit, consisting largely of pastel paintings and sterling silver jewelry, showed variety in individual technique and interpretation of subject matter. Future exhibits will feature watercolors, oils, and sculpture.

Annual West Virginia Intercollegiate Press Association Conference was held at the college November 18-19. All seminars were led by qualified journalists.

Seminars pertaining to advertising, circulation, sports, and business managers were conducted by journalists from the Charleston *Gazette*. The Charleston *Daily Mail* conducted a newspaper clinic and a seminar on editorial writing. A journalist from *Color* magazine discussed feature writing. Professor William Pitt, from the department of journalism, Marshall college, discussed editing the college newspaper. Professor Chester E. Ball, also from Marshall,

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discussed newspaper photography and its relation to the college newspaper. P. Bernard Young, Jr., editor of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, delivered the banquet address.

Impressive gains in scholarship are reported by the college students who voluntarily attend the classes of the Evening Review School, which is held every Tuesday and Thursday evening from 6:30 to 8:30 P.M. in the college administration building. Now in its second year of operation, the school, under the direction of Dr. Kermit C. King and staffed by interested upperclass students, devotes its time to tutoring and recitation work.

■

KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE was host on November 19 to the Louisville Philharmonic Orchestra, under the direction of Robert Whitney, in a young people's matinee.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) was host in November to Section A of the sectional conference of the New Homemakers of America Chapter Advisers and officials. The conference presented ways of solving problems in the further development of NHA on the local and state levels.

Recent lecture at Lincoln: Howard Davis and John W. Vandercook. Mr. Davis, the renowed lecturer from Fort Wayne, Ind., spoke on his unique life as a rehabilitated prisoner. Mr. Vandercook, well-known radio commentator and traveler, spoke on Communism in Western Europe.

The new $600,000 library at Lincoln was inspected during the three-day homecoming period by approximately five hundred homecoming guests. The structure, which will be

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formally dedicated later, is named in honor of a former Lincoln president, Inman E. Page (1880-1898; 1922-1923). The three-story building has approximately 344,000 cubic feet and a total reader capacity, on the first floor, of 253; on the second, of 187; and a book capacity of 115,-200 volumes.

In addition to the usual facilities, the library has two seminar rooms, conference and projection rooms, a built-in display case, and a staff-room lounge.

Lincoln observed American Education Week with a convocation program sponsored by the department of education. Principal speaker was F. E. Wolverton of the State Department of Education, who spoke on "Making Democracy Work."

■

The 84th anniversary of SHAW UNIVERSITY was observed at founder's day exercises held in November. The annual address was delivered by Dr. Fred D. Sessoms, a physician of Washington, Ga., and a Shaw graduate in the class of 1906.

Ten students of Shaw have been selected for inclusion in *Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities* for the current year. The group includes nine seniors and one junior, all of whom are active in various student organizations.

Annual Thanksgiving services of the college Theological Fraternity were held on November 24, with the Thanksgiving message being delivered by St. Elmo Pugh of the Shaw school of religion. Garland F. Wiggins, a senior from Nashville, Tenn., is new president of the Theological Fraternity.

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SEGREGATED EDUCATION

(*Continued from page* 23)

presidents on its advisory board, a representative board of directors, and a qualified professional staff, jointly headed by its founder, Felice N. Schwartz, the only volunteer, and the writer, as the professional executive.

In two years of operations, this agency has helped to place over 600 Negro students (over ten percent of the existing total) in over 200 interracial colleges and graduate schools, most of them with scholarship assistance. It has given incidental counselling to thousands more. Among the colleges accepting scholarship students, referred by the agency, are Barnard, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Northwestern, Princeton, Smith, Vassar, Yale, and the universities of California, Chicago, Illinois, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Pittsburgh.

ENTERING WEDGE

That record has been accomplished by capitalizing on the friendly to neutral attitudes of the colleges and their student bodies while bolstering the awareneness of the applicants. An entering wedge on many campuses has been the Advisory Board of College Presidents. Continual correspondence, referrals of really qualified students, and an increasing program of staff visits to the campuses, made possible by joint grant from the General Education Board and the New York Foundation, have helped to establish many new relationships and to solidify old ones. The agency has made a painstaking compilation of over 10,500 scholarships for undergraduate and graduate students, which has been invaluable. The largest and perhaps the only compilation of its kind in the United States, the scholarships are catalogued under nine categories of eligibility such as place of residence, parentage, religion, and field of major interest. Then, with a student's school family, and personal record, it is relatively easy for the agency to determine the scholarships for which the applicant is qualified and eligible, to tell the applicant where they are awarded, how much they are worth, and how and when to apply for them.

Techniques and methods had to be developed by the Agency to overcome the obstacles. To overcome the lack of drive in the South, it has extended its field program by visiting state meetings of high school prin-

cipals. The principals are told of the many opportunities and of the importance of alerting their students on time and of filling out agency information forms fully, returning them promptly. Even a properly filled-out form returned in March has little use, when the deadline for receiving applications at most colleges is March 1.

PREPARATION POOR

The attack on inadequate secondary preparation has to be a silver one, for the whole victory can only be won on a national front: by the achievement of really equal, which means not separate, secondary education. The miserable physical plants with their underpaid, overworked teachers in the Negro schools in the South are known too well. Is it as well known that in Mississippi, Negroes who make up 49.2 percent of the population, have only 14 percent of the public high schools? In Louisiana where they are 35.9 percent of the population, that they have only 21.9 percent of the schools? In South Carolina where they are 42.9 percent they have 26.4 percent of the schools? Throughout the other southern states, the pattern is similar. Only the slow, but inevitable awakening of the South, or a radical change in the attitude of the courts toward segregation in education, can readily change this picture, but there is a way to start changing it.

The sliver attack is based on the belief that there are places for the academic cream of the southern high school crop in northern and western preparatory schools, where they can be prepared for college in accordance with their abilities. To this end over with their abilities. To this end over forty of the leading preparatory schools and their headmasters have been successfully enlisted. Most of them have never had applications from qualified Negroes. Now they have shown their willingness to accept such applications, to treat them on an equal basis with all other applicants, and to award full and partial scholarships, to the best of their financial ability, where the need is indicated. Their headmasters have agreed to serve on the agency's Advisory Board of Independent School Headmasters. The schools include such well-known ones as Taft, Choate, Hotchkiss, Groton, and St. Paul's, as well as Exeter, Andover, and Mt. Hermon which traditionally have had some Negro students. Candidates, recruited through various sources, including the YMCA, YWCA, and Boys' Clubs are finally screened in person by the agency's educational consultant, Dr. Paul F. Lawrence, of the Howard university faculty.

SCHOLARSHIPS INADEQUATE

To compensate for the inadequacy of so many existing scholarships, the agency seeks to establish a supplementary scholarship fund to make up the needed difference for students successfully referred for admission and scholarship assistance. In the early days, the agency decided that infinitely more could be accomplished by exposing thousands of students to millions of dollars worth of existing scholarships, than by setting up a few new ones. This decision has turned out on the whole to be wise, except that too many scholarships just miss being adequate for the purpose of substantially increasing op-

portunities for Negroes in higher education.

Two years of the agency's activities have produced a few rather spectacular results, such as the award of a $1,350 scholarship by Vassar to a Negro girl, one of the largest undergraduate scholarships ever given by any school to any undergraduate; the award of full tuition scholarships to five Negro men by Dartmouth; and the financial support both to the agency's program and to the establishment of new scholarships by an increasingly large group of students' campus chests.

EROSION CONTINUOUS

These gains are a continuing erosion, helping to breakdown segregated education in the South by bringing qualified students North. In the North, the gains have acted as supplements to the gains in anti-discrimination legislation by persistently exposing qualified students to more or less willing institutions, which are in certain states also faced with such legislation. Legislation alone, or exposure alone, cannot possibly accomplish as much in the long run as the two in tandem. Indifferent institutions can always take cover under "We don't get any applications from Negroes," unless there is someone around to see that they do get applications. Those few institutions that really want to discriminate can always avoid finding room for an "undesirable" but qualified applicant, if there is no law to stop them. But, with an active agency persistently exposing them to qualified Negroes, plus state laws to make worthy applications stick, times can get to be mighty tough for the discriminators.

The legal fight against segregated education must go on in the courts and in the legislatures, and for the sake of our national integrity and dignity, must be won. In the meantime, however, thousands of Negro students can be profitably attending non-segregated colleges and independent schools, because of the widening of this growing splinter front.

NEGRO NEWSPAPER

(*Continued from page* 7)

a song writer with several hits to his credit. One of them, written many years before, was still bringing in royalties regularly.

This ambition, this drive to get ahead in several fields, seems to me to be a conclusive answer to those who still believe that the Negro bogs down in his own inertia.

I had not been there too long when the union (Newspaper Guild) called a meeting of all employees with the management to discuss wage increases. Much of what was said then I cannot repeat here. What impressed me most was the forthright attitude taken by the employees in stating their reasons for additional remuneration. There was no hedging, no clouding of issues. I kept wishing that some of my bigoted acquaintances could be present to hear Negroes assert themselves. The arguments must have been strong, for I learned later that substantial pay rises had been granted.

When I left to take my present magazine position, there was genuine regret on both sides. I had found those I worked with to be stimulat-

ing, interesting and extremely likeable. The months I had spent beside them had strengthened my opinions, fortified my admiration, and cleared my tongue to speak out for the Negro. My voice is small, yet a thousand small voices can combine into a roar.

BATAKA MOVEMENT

(*Continued from page* 19)

Namirembe on September 5, 1945.

With Kulubya forced out of office and Misibirwa suddenly removed by an assassin's bullet, panic seized the British officials. They considered these chiefs their most reliable agents in the Native Administration and decided to strike terror in the hearts of the people. Hundreds of Africans were arrested and banished without trial. Every government department was purged of supporters of the Bataka movement. Anyone suspected of "dangerous thoughts" was dismissed. Among the victims were fourteen Gombolola chiefs, a former Budo schoolmaster, the librarian of the High Court, the head typist in the Protectorate Agent's office at Kampala, and several wealthy and influential landowners who opposed the policy of European settlement as in Kenya. Senkatuka was tried and hanged. He refused to implicate others in his crime, declaring that he did what he did to save his country from traitors like Martin Luther Nsibirwa.

ONE-MAN COMMISSION

After the reign of terror subsided, the Governor appointed a one-man commission then, as now, to whitewash official action. The Commissioner, who was also a chief justice, still in the service of the Uganda government, declared that "the police and military displayed great restraint and patience, and did not fire until there was really no other course open to them consistent with the proper carrying out of their duties." The Government was vindicated! However, the report admitted that both Government and police were taken by surprise, being without any information suggesting the possibility of the disturbances which occurred. To avoid a repetition of this defect, the Commissioner of Police suggested a fusion of the CID, the local Scotland Yard, with the Security Intelligence Bureau, and several police officers outlined schemes for the organization of a special branch, one of the principal duties of which would be to keep the authorities thoroughly posted as to what was going on amongst the Africans, sense public opinion, and try to obtain the earliest and fullest information of any subversive activities.

"BLACK MARTYRS"

Ever since the religious civil wars of the last century, the Buganda describe their country as "the land of black martyrs." Only too true. For recent events have shown that today as in the past, the soil of Uganda must be soaked in African blood in order to bring a little justice and political democracy to the common people. Thanks to the sacrifices made by those who were killed and suffered exile, the Colonial Office decided to introduce a few reforms.

(*Continued on page* 65)

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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Charleston
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BATAKA MOVEMENT

(*Continued from page* 63)

In September, 1945, the Governor sent the Kabaka to Madalene college. Cambridge university. With the young king out of the country, Sir John Hall, with the approval of the Secretary of the State for Colonies, ordered the Kabaka's ministers to reorganize the Lukiko and alter the entire system of indirect rule administration.

Besides reforming the native parliament by granting the common people the right to elect 31 out of the 89 members, who until 1945 were all handpicked Saza and Gombolola chiefs, paid functionaries of the British govemnment, as their principal tax-gatherers. But even this reform fell short of the demands put forward constitutionally by the Bataka before the organization was declared illegal.

Under the Mengo Agreement of 1900, the British imperial government had pledged to respect the land rights of the bakopi or peasants and to allow them to elect 60 representatives to the Lukiko. But during the past half century the British officials responsible for the carrying out of the treaty have so gerrymandered the Native Administration that none but their puppets ever get into the Lukiko. And even now that the people have caught up with them, the Labor government has only grudgingly granted them 31 seats. And even this apparent concession has been nullified by arresting and imprisoning the very men whom the people would like to select to represent them. Public assembly is suppressed; trade unions, political organizations and farmers societies have been made illegal, and the native press completely muzzled.

In August, 1948, the Governor amended the existing press and censorship laws to confer upon himself dictatorial powers over the press and public assemblies. Under the new regulations, he has the power to insist that any newspaper publishing an article, report, letter, or advertisement which, in his opinion contains any statement of fact which is false or distorted, shall publish on a specified date, and in the same position as the original article, a correction compiled by him. Failure to do so will constitute a criminal offense and the newspaper proprietor or editor, or both, will be liable to a fine or imprisonment, or both.

Under an amendment to the police ordinance, the Governor can, if he considers it necessary, proclaim any area a "gazetted area" in which it will be unlawful to convene an as-

sembly at which more than 250 persons are to be present unless prior permission is obtained from the British authorities. Such a gathering includes processions, and penalties will be imposed on organizers and those taking part.

ASSEMBLYING PROHIBITED

During the recent troubles not more than five Africans were allowed to assemble in public. The editors of the African newspapers *Gambuze* and *Mugobansonga* are now serving sentences of imprisonment for publishing a letter signed by fourteen natives asking for the resignation of the present prime minister.

Another African, Mr. F. Kibuke-Musoke, former assistant minister of finance who served twenty-five years in the British government service in Uganda and came to London in 1948 to consult the Secretary of State concerning certain public matters in his country, was arrested on his return to Uganda and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for being in possession of a copy of the petition sent to the United Nations Trusteeship Council by the people of Buganda, as well as the letter circulated to the British and American bishops at the Lambeth Conference during Mr. Kubuka-Musoke's visit to England.

And to add insult to injury, the Governor, with the approval of the Colonial Office, hastened to justify his high-handed actions by branding those Africans who dare to demand the implementation of those lofty principles of racial equality and democracy, so frequently enunciated by Mr. Creech-Jones, as "Communist. Even the *Bataka*—the traditional Elders of the Buganda Clans, an institution which forms an integral part of the social structure of the Uganda nation, have suddenly become the "agents of the Kremlin" in the eyes of Sir John Hall and his official minions.

Commenting upon these allegations, Mr. Brockway in his appeal to the prime minister says that the Governor's aspersion "apparently is based on the fact that the demands of the Bataka were forwarded to the Russian delegation at the United Nations and were voiced by Mr. Gromyko. Reports from Uganda indicate that in fact Communist influence has been negligible, but the condemnation of a movement which has mass support as Communist has inevitably had the opposite effect to what the authorities desire." This internationally known English Socialist concludes by warning his party that "confidence in Labor's administration of Uganda will be restored only by thorough investigation of the grievances of the people and by bold measures to remedy them."

Truly, those whom the gods seek to destroy they first make mad!

DID YOU KNOW —

That Mississippi ranks first among the states in Negro farm ownership?

DUSTIN' OFF THE NEWS

by

Lucius C. Harper

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